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of Boston,
(H.C. 1850,)
5 May, 1865.

CAUSE AND PROBABLE RESULTS

OF THE

CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BY WILLIAM TAYLOR,

OF CALIFORNIA,

Author of "Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco," "California Life Illustrated," "The Model Preacher," &c., &c.

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PREFACE.

In submitting a few facts to the good people of Great Britain, I will just remark that I am not acting under the auspices or instructions of any party, political or otherwise; but finding in the minds of so many of my friends here a misapprehension of the principal facts and issues of the American war, I felt impelled by a sense of duty to the cause of truth and righteousness to write. I am a native of the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, spent twenty-eight years of my life in the South, and have since spent thirteen years in extensive explorations through nearly all the free states from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and am therefore quite familiar with the facts which I here respectfully submit.

WILLIAM TAYLOR.

London, *October 15th*, 1862.

THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

CAUSE AND PROBABLE RESULTS OF THE WAR.

If "not a sparrow falleth to the ground without our heavenly Father," it is not at all likely that such a war as is now raging in the United States could occur without Him. Does it not therefore become all reflecting men, especially such as fear God, to inquire what are probably the Lord's designs in permitting this war? While it is quite impossible for us adequately to anticipate or fathom his designs, still in the light of well defined principles and precedents in his government, we may anticipate and define them sufficiently for ordinary purposes of practical faith and action. From the commencement of the war I have believed that the Great Arbiter of battles had at least two ends to accomplish by it.

I.—A severe chastisement of the American nation for national sins.

The chastisement is both retributive and disciplinary. In regard to discipline I may simply say, that no man, or corporation or nation can attain to humble permanent greatness without great struggles in the school of adversity. If they cannot stand the ordeal, they cannot reach the end to which it is a means.

In regard to God's retributive dealing with the American people, it is generally admitted by all concerned, that as a nation we have been very ungrateful, haughty, and wicked in the sight of the Lord. We have sinned grievously against God and humanity, not only by our complicity with slavery, but in numerous ways besides. Proportionate to the light enjoyed, and the consequent responsibility involved, so is the guilt of disobedience; hence we may reasonably expect that the retributions of God to be visited upon the nation will be terribly severe. The Secessionists are the principal rod used by the Lord for the chastisement of the loyal states, not simply by the action of armies in the field, but also by all the humiliating concomitants of the war at home and abroad. Had the Federal armies been uniformly successful, the chastening purpose of God would not have been realized at all. Why, as late as last June I travelled extensively through the northern,

western, and some of the border states, and to see then the crowded churches and schools and places of amusement, and the activity and general prosperity in almost every department of business, and the good cheer that seemed everywhere to prevail, a man, unacquainted with the facts, would not have dreamed of war anywhere on the American continent. Up to that time the loyal states had responded promptly to every call of the government for men and means, and as soon as the demand was met, "they turned every one to his farm, and to his merchandise," and except in cases of personal bereavement from the loss of friends in the war, there seemed to be but little humiliation before God, or recognition of his chastening hand. I felt then, and said to many friends, that if the Lord designed a chastisement of the nation that would improve her relations to his moral government, He would have to deal with us much more severely than He had done: that we certainly were not yet ready for a successful—"Onward to Richmond." More recent developments help to demonstrate the truth of my theory.

II.—The second providential end to be accomplished by the war, I believe, will be the final overthrow of the "institution of slavery." To elucidate the theory on which I predicate this assumption, it will be necessary to state a few facts showing the relation of slavery to the war. African slavery in America, it is well known, is older than the nation itself, and although the fundamental principles of the government, as defined in—"The Declaration of Independence," and in the Constitution, would guarantee to all her loyal subjects, "life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness," still the government had to adjust its administration to the institution of slavery, as already established too firmly to admit of its immediate removal, Massachusetts being then the only free state in the "Union."

The legal relations and control of the question, except in the district of Columbia, and in the territories not yet organized into states, were left to local state legislation. The national government could not adopt the institution, for it was directly antagonistic to her fundamental principles, and not having power then to grapple with it and remove it, left it, as a necessary evil, to be dealt with and removed by State legislation, and accordingly the work of emancipation went on as far south as "Mason and Dixon's line." Very earnest efforts, too, were made in Virginia and Kentucky in the same direction, which they say were frustrated by the zeal of the "Northern Abolitionists," in trying to hasten the good work. For many years after that, Southern statesmen and the Southern people generally admitted that slavery was wrong, but with the growth of the tobacco and cotton trade, and the immense wealth

involved, they began to feel that it was an evil they could patiently endure; next concluded that it was no evil at all, and finally that it was positively a good thing to all concerned. The development of pro-slaveryism is well illustrated by the history of the "Methodist Episcopal Church *South*," which seceded in A.D. 1844, from the "Methodist Episcopal Church" on that ground alone—a history with which I am quite familiar, but can only advert to here. When such men as Rev. William A. Smith, D.D., and Rev. Henry Bascom, D.D., afterwards Bishop Bascom, wrote and published pamphlets and books to prove that slavery, so far from being an evil that should be abolished, was in fact an institution of God, to be supported by Bible authority, extended over the nation, and perpetuated for ever, nearly the whole South accepted the *new moral* platform, and from quiet conservatives, saying as little about slavery as possible, because unable to speak in its favor, they became open defenders, and rabid propagandists of the thing. A fierce ecclesiastical war was waged from that time all along the border of free and slave soil. The "General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church *South*," in 1854, put a new construction on the rule *against* "buying and selling men, women and children, with an intention to enslave them," which was fundamental in the church from which they seceded, and which was retained in the "Church *South*" discipline till they got their portion of the book-concern property belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church; but now to get rid of its practical bearings on the "institution," the said General Conference decided that the rule did not apply to domestic slavery at all, but to the "African slave trade." At their next General Conference, in 1858, they struck everything pertaining to slavery out of their discipline altogether. I was in the city of Richmond, Va., at the time, and read carefully the deductions of the political press from their action, which were in effect, that if such a body of learned Christian ministers could see no evil in the re-opening of the slave trade with the coast of Africa, of course politicians and worldly men could see no evil in it, and therefore it must be right. Very soon after that the sentiment was currently received in the South, that the importation of poor heathens from Africa, and their admission to the glorious privileges of Christianity in American slavery was the greatest missionary enterprise of the age in which we live, and the only obstructions to this most charitable work were the "miserable abolitionists of the north," and British men-of-war which claimed the right of search over their missionary ships.

Among the political developments of pro-slaveryism, I may mention—

1st. The repeal of the "Missouri Compromise," which com-

promise was made in the interest of slavery, to prevent the advance of freedom south of a definite line, and now repealed that slavery might be extended indefinitely through the territories north of that line. 2nd. The "Fugitive Slave Law," practically extending slavery through all the free states. The South reaping all the pecuniary advantages, and the whole North laid under contribution to catch and return all the fugitives who might try to escape. Meantime many leading political newspaper editors, seeing that the anti-slavery party could treat them to nothing better than righteous principles, and that the South had the "loaves and fishes," espoused the Southern cause, and public speakers who dared to assail the "institution" were gagged and choked down by every available means. The North submitted to this degradation for the sake of peace. 3rd. The practical re-opening of the slave trade, by which hundreds of natives from the coast of Africa were smuggled directly, and *viâ* Cuba, into the Southern states, and an insult to the British flag for presuming to search American slavers a few years ago, which threatened an open rupture between the two nations. 4th. This infatuation of slavery propagandism finally culminated in open rebellion, and the present organized effort to overthrow the Federal Government.

I find many in the United Kingdom who have an idea that the South were suffering terrible oppression under the Federal Government, which goaded them into the war spirit. But it is a fact, patent to every American certainly, that the South have had the balance of power in the Federal Government from its organization till the time of their withdrawal for the purpose of its overthrow. True, the admission of California, in 1850, and the subsequent admission of Minnesota and Oregon, as free states, gave the balance of power in Congress, *nominally*, against them; still, by bullying force and political intrigue, they retained in fact the balance of power, and the government was administered specially in their interest. Out of volumes of evidence to prove this fact, I need only advert to the subjugation of the whole of the free states to the odious demands of the "Fugitive Slave Law." The Republican party itself, with an avowed purpose to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories, were nevertheless solemnly pledged not to interfere with it in the states. If the South had a list of grievances that would bear the scrutiny of common sense, they would not fail to publish them to the world; yet who can show a case in which the Federal Government ever oppressed them, or interfered with their rights. Their complaint about the "tariff" is but a mere pretext, for though it afforded protection to home manufactures, the political object of it, as is now in the case of Canada, was a revenue to the government, to

which the North contributed more than the South because of her much more numerous population, but in which the South shared much more largely than the North in the way of governmental patronage, and in public government works. All the immense expenditures in the national capital itself were in the South. If we add to this the greatly superior postal revenues of the North, it will be seen that the North contributed more than the South to support the government, in which Southern politicians held the most lucrative offices, and whose monied resources she mainly controlled. The tariff! What an excuse for forcing upon the nation and upon the world the horrors of war. They have complained, to be sure, of the interference of the "Abolitionists" with their "institutions." And what did they do? It is very clear that they did nothing through the Federal Government to oppress the South, or they would, at least, have repealed the Fugitive Slave Law, which was most odious to them. What dreadful thing did they do, indeed, to provoke the South to drag the nation into such a war? Why, a few men and women in the North ventured, through the press and in public debate, to express views adverse to slavery; and a few persons, on their own personal responsibility, at the hazard of the heaviest penalties of the law, ventured to give aid and comfort to the fugitives whom they found fleeing from their masters. A ship-master was convicted in Petersburg, Va., a few years ago, of having offered passage on his vessel to a few slaves who desired to emigrate North, and was sentenced to the penitentiary for twenty years. I was in the city of Richmond, but a few miles distant, at the time, and the "outrageous conduct of the ship-master," and the "justice of his sentence," was the popular theme of conversation in all circles. He has been now four years in prison, and has sixteen to serve, unless the Federal armies release him and send him home to his family.

The real grievance to the South, I apprehend, was this: The North with free labour and free schools were multiplying their population too fast for the South. To attract emigration to the South-western slave states, six hundred acres of land were offered in Arkansas to every family that would settle there, and in Missouri land was offered for sixpence per acre; while land in Iowa, not any better in quality, and climate not so good, readily commanded twenty-four shillings. The mass of independent, enterprising men, who were seeking new homes refused to settle in a slave state, while multitudes of Southern men, glad enough to get away from slavery, annually emigrated to free soil. What was worse still, the anti-slavery sentiment of the North was developing itself, and extending its influence, so that the South saw that among the probabilities of the future the North would certainly outvote them,

(though every five slaves gave to the master three votes besides his own,) and might then possibly interfere with slavery. Hence to prevent the North from acquiring the balance of power in the government, which they claimed by right of possession from the first, they have for years been acquiring, by political stratagem and war, and Federal Government money, new territory South, as fast as possible. Hence the annexation of Texas, and the purchase of New Mexico and California, and the abortive effort to possess Cuba.

But, shocking to tell, the gold attraction of California drew together such a population of enterprising Northern men, and Englishmen who loved freedom, and men too from the South, who were glad to get away from slavery, that ere the South were aware of the danger, California, with a constitution prohibiting slavery, knocked at the halls of the United States Congress, and was admitted a free state. The South never got over that disappointment, and Californians only know how much trouble the Southern politicians have given them, in trying to break down their free constitution and introduce slavery on the Pacific coast. To offset that, the South determined, through the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to carry slavery into the North-western territories, but the Northerners poured a tide of emigration into Kansas, and organized a free state, on soil that, but for the said repeal, must have been preserved sacred for slavery. That was an outrage that the South never could forgive, but it would not do to make that an ostensible ground for trying to overthrow the government, for it was accomplished by the activity of free enterprise in accordance with the constitution and laws of the nation, not through any intentional aid of the general government, for that, as I have shown, was administered in the interest of the South, and threw all the weight of its influence against the movement in favor of freedom. Then, to cap the climax, the Democratic party, like St. Paul's prison-ship, "fell into a place where two seas met," "ran aground," and was wrecked "by the violence of the waves;" and the Republican party, by constitutional majorities, elected to the presidency of the nation an honest man, and what was worse, the representative of a party avowedly opposed to slavery. The South could not stand such treatment as that any longer, and hence the rebellion.

I find many on this side of the Atlantic who claim for the South the right of revolution under the precedent of the revolution of the American colonies in 1776. Now, let any sensible man look at the facts. The colonies stated their grievances, and prayed long and loud for legal redress. The seceding states did neither, but *clandestinely*, and most adroitly and efficiently too, made all

their arrangements for the overthrow of the government. The colonies were a dependency three thousand miles across the seas, had no part in creating the British throne, had no voice in her halls of legislation, and the kingdom of Great Britain was not dependent on the loyalty of the colonies for its constitutional integrity, nor was it jeopardized by their independence. But the seceding states were not remote colonies, but the integral parts of the government, helped to create it, and by the most solemn compact were sworn to maintain it, not as a *Confederation* of independent states, but as a bona fide *national government.* But why did not the Federal Government accede peaceably to their demands, and avoid this dreadful war? What were those demands formally, and by logical implication? 1st. A surrender of all the United States property within the bounds of the seceding states, embracing post offices, custom houses, armories, navy yards, forts, and the United States mint in New Orleans, most of these they had seized by force of arms, and now the United States government must peaceably surrender its right and title to all these, and thereby legalize their illegal seizure. 2nd. A peaceable surrender of eight hundred thousand square miles of land embraced in the slave states, besides hundreds of thousands more in the territories extending to the Pacific Ocean Of eighty-four rivers in the United States, seventy-two run through the Secession domain, and among them the Mississippi, the national commercial highway to the ocean for all the western and northwestern free states. The mouths of this river, together with the whole state of Louisiana and Florida as well, had been bought by the Federal Government specially to meet the commercial necessities of the nation. In conceding all this, the government must sanction the pro-slaveryism of the South as an institution of God, which must be maintained by solemn engagement similar to the Fugitive Slave Law, sanctioned by the heaviest penalties of international compact, which should be executed by Southern bayonets as occasion might require. 4th. A recognition and practical endorsement of the doctrine of *secession,* which was *ignored* by "the people" of the thirteen original states, through their representatives in the convention which framed the constitution, and organized the Federal Government, *as being entirely incompatible with the existence of an Independent National Government.* John Calhoun, of South Carolina, afterwards tried to revive it, but General Jackson knocked it on the head so hard, that it lay apparently dead for a quarter of a century. Now that the thing had a resurrection, and came up a hideous hydra of vast proportions, must "uncle Samuel" lovingly embrace it, adopt it into his family, and undertake to supply its capacious maw with hetacombs of his

own loyal children? In other words, must twenty millions of loyal citizens stand by and peaceably allow the rebels to knock out the key-stone of the governmental arch under which they had lived and prospered for three quarters of a century? For if the local state government of South Carolina, or New York, or any other state, is so superior to the authority of the Federal Government, that it can any day, without notice, not only withdraw allegiance, but seize all the property of the Federal Government within its bounds with impunity, then the government of the United States has been a sham from the commencement, and never can have a real existence. Now, could twenty millions of freemen, principally Anglo-Saxons, loyal citizens of the United States, honourably accede to such demands? They were not in a good condition to refuse, for the principal leaders in the rebellion were the principal leaders in the United States Government during Mr. Buchanan's administration, and having the old bachelor under their thumb, had appropriated for their rebellious purposes all the available resources of money and munitions of war belonging to the United States, and were now prepared to back their demands by well trained, and well equipped armies, which they had been quietly drilling for years. The people of the free states pursuing their peaceful avocations, familiar with the threats of the South and the oft repeated compromises made to conciliate them, could not believe that the South would force a war upon the nation, until waked up by the roar of their artillery and the fall of Sumter. The alternative was now forced upon them, to bow down at the feet of their Southern masters and "eat dirt," as the Southern press then exultingly expressed it, or to stand up in the name of God and defend the constitution and government bequeathed to them in sacred trust by their fathers, under the seal of the laws of Providence, attested by all the nations of the earth. Whatever may be said here about the folly of fighting for the "Union," let it be remembered the "UNION" is to loyal Americans what the British throne and constitution are to Englishmen. Suppose, for example, all the counties of England, north of the Severn and Welland rivers, or a line from the Bristol Channel to the Wash (a line much better defined by those rivers than any "geographical line" dividing the states) should, by a secret conspiracy, present such demands, and force such an alternative upon the British throne; would Parliament listen to any compromise, jeopardizing the throne and the glorious constitutional liberties secured to this nation, under the laws of Providence, by the toil and blood of hundreds of generations of their noble sires? Would they parley with traitors? But we are gravely told that "the geographical domain of the United States is too large for one government." Not half so

large as the British Empire; yet Britain would not allow India, nor would she allow any of her colonies, though separated from her, geographically, by oceans and continents, to seize her property, and peaceably secede from her dominion; and who will question the validity of her governmental policy? But to separate the Southern from the Northern states, is to divide rivers and mainland more geographically compact, only on a larger scale, than England itself. It is stated here that the Alleghany mountains form a natural division line between the North and the South, and many clearly see in that a providential argument in favor of secession. But the assumption is false, for the said mountains rise in Southern Pennsylvania, run through Virginia and Tennessee, bordering into North Carolina, and terminating in Alabama, a vast backbone argument against division. It is said, too, that "the nationalities and social habits of the North and South are so diverse that they never can remain one people." The nationalities, languages, and religion of both parties are precisely the same. Their only differences are superinduced by slavery. Some try to justify the rebellion on commercial grounds, and say—"That the manufacturing interests and productive tariff of the North are destructive to the interests of the south." But the fact is, the natural facilities for manufacturing in the South are as good as in the North. The water power of Virginia is not surpassed anywhere, and greatly superior to anything of the kind in the West. If the argument was worth anything, it would apply, not to the South, but to the great loyal states of the West and North-west. Why then are the manufacturing interests of the South so far behind those of the North? Because slavery and its concomitants oppose a bar to manufacturing free labour. View the subject from any stand-point you please, and any unprejudiced, intelligent man, must see in the light of the real history of the case that the cause of the rebellion is slavery; that no other antagonism exists, in sufficient strength, between the North and the South, to lead to such a rupture; that whatever other differences have arisen between them are traceable to one common origin. *The animus of the whole thing is* SLAVERY. (*See Appendix.*)

CHAPTER II.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND SLAVE EMANCIPATION.

The virus of slavery has been poisoning the life blood of the "body politic" from the day it was born till the present time.

The nation has lived and prospered in spite of it, but the time has come for one or the other to die. You remember the words of your own Sir Harry Vane, when his voice was drowned by the drums of his executioners—"It is a bad cause which cannot bear the words of a dying man." Such an "institution," that can't bear to be talked about or touched, without involving fratricidal war and destruction of nations, is a kind of vast powder magazine in a machine shop. It cannot permanently exist under, nor in close proximity to, a free constitutional government. "Very well, why then did not the Federal Government meet the real issue at once, and proclaim an exterminating war against slavery? In answering that question we will have to look a moment at the magnitude of the pro-slavery power the government had to deal with, and some of the complex difficulties of the question itself. There are only about three hundred thousand slaveholders in the nation, but they hold about four millions of slaves in physical bondage, and as many more non-slaveholding whites in social and political bondage, and besides, through social, commercial, and political appliances, held such a controlling influence in the North as to give them the balance of power in the government, as before shown. "But how does it come to pass that this small minority of slaveholders rule such majorities?" Because in addition to the ownership of four millions of slaves (every five of whom gave the masters three votes) they own most of the real estate of the South, and annually receive for the single article of cotton alone £20,000,000 of English gold. Their long lines of lawyers, merchants, and mechanics, were their humble servants, of course, to secure their patronage, and the poorer classes, called "poor white trash," had to do the best they could to live at all. This grand monopoly of human flesh and bones, and real estate, and all sorts of monied resources, what, by smiles, and frowns, bribes, and penalties, could they not do? Having slaves to do all their menial labour, what had they to do, but to study etiquette, with which to take in the strangers? What but to study politics, and military tactics, and to fill the most important offices of government, at home and abroad, and everywhere make capital for the pro-slavery aristocracy? In forcing upon the nation the alternatives of war or submission to their demands, they expected that their Northern friends, especially of the Democratic party who had so long made common cause with them, would co-operate with them at once, divide the North, and thus awe the government into immediate submission without striking a blow (thousands of Virginians were dragged into secession by the assurance that they would thereby prevent war), and that if the government should presume to stand up and defend, all the battles would be on free soil, and all the

wealth of the Northern cities would be at the command of the Southern armies; and that through the influence of king cotton, England and France would keep their ports open and do their carrying; that they could bribe privateers enough, under their letters of marque, to destroy the commerce of the North; that they would soon despatch honest Abraham to the bosom of Beelzebub, place Jefferson in the White House at Washington, and subjugate the whole North at will. They had meantime trained the South to believe that the Abolitionists were preparing to break down the constitution, raise an insurrection among the slaves, and massacre all their wives and children, and the John Brown raid was quoted in proof of it. Now, had Mr. Lincoln proclaimed directly an abolition war, he would, thereby, have consolidated the whole South, at once, including the border states, capitol and all. He would have divided the North, and would have brought the whole mortal struggle on to free soil. Mr. Lincoln was sworn to maintain the constitution, and administer the laws impartially for the benefit of all loyal subjects, North and South. To have proclaimed the abolition of slavery in the states would have been regarded as a violation of the constitution, hence a forfeiture of national honour and of the support of millions of loyal citizens, North and South. If slavery in the states, as it was in the district of Columbia, had been dependent on the national government for its life, Congress could have despatched it at once, as it did in the district of Columbia; but its life is in the power of local state legislation, and if the secession of states was a forfeiture of their constitutional life, and hence of the institutions depending on it, still several of the border slave states were nominally loyal, and claimed the protection of the constitution. Moreover the government did not wish to resort to extreme measures, till it had first tried a mild, magnanimous policy toward the whole South. Meantime, Mr. Lincoln's honest efforts to induce the border states to adopt an anti-slavery policy, by offering to compensate them for their slaves, and voluntarily initiate a plan for gradual emancipation, have, at least, had the effect of ventilating the subject, by its discussion on slave soil, which has resulted in quite a development of anti-slavery sentiment in the border slave states. Before the war, there was but one man in the South who dared to speak out on the subject, Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, and he could only do it by first presenting twelve substantial arguments in a pair of Colt's revolvers, with a threat, that everybody knew he would execute, to shoot the first and every rascal who might dare to lay hands on him. Not one pulpit, not one paper in all the South dared to attack slavery. Not an anti-slavery paper or book was allowed to circulate through the South. The ever jealous, vigilant

eyes of pro-slaveryism found, in the home of a very respectable coloured preacher of the Gospel, in Cambridge, Maryland, a copy of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and the poor man was dragged away from his family and sentenced to the penitentiary for ten years. He still has about five years of his imprisonment to serve. Many white men and ministers of the Gospel were driven out of the South on a suspicion of disloyalty to "the institution." The Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, during Conference Session, in 1858, while the presiding bishop was preaching an ordination sermon, was assailed on the Sabbath day by a formidable force of armed men, embracing a large number of the "most influential citizens"—the slaveholders in the county. A member of the same Conference, by the name of Kelly, a noble young minister of the Gospel, five or six years ago, was assaulted by a mob, and so beaten and abused that he soon after died from the effects of their violence. Rev. A. Bewley, of the same Conference, was seized by a pro-slavery mob, dragged away from his family and hung. What had these men done? Had they tried to raise insurrections among the slaves? Had they even publicly raised their voice against slavery? Nothing of the kind, but they belonged to an anti-slavery church, and it was feared that their presence and ministry might in some way work to the injury of "the institution." What was done with their murderers? Pro-slavery men would not arrest them, nor prosecute them, nor testify against them, nor pass judgment, nor execute them, and anti-slavery men dare not show their faces or lift their voices on slave soil. The blood of these men of God still cries from the ground. All these things occurred in the days of national peace and prosperity, when Brooks was receiving ovations through the South for having beaten Mr. Sumner nearly to death with a huge stick in the Senate Chamber, for having even there dared to speak against slavery. Now, through the mild conservative, yet earnest anti-slaveryism of Mr. Lincoln, and his emancipation policy, the discussion of the subject has been admitted, and a good degree of anti-slavery sentiment developed in all the border slave states. In Baltimore, for example, it is not only a matter of daily discussion, but in a mass meeting the unrighteous rule of the three-fifths vote for the slaves, subjecting large majorities of free white voters to minorities of slaveholders, was publicly denounced, and the subject of emancipation freely spoken of by leading men as certain to take place in Maryland at an early day. The legislatures of Delaware and of Western Virginia have discussed the emancipation question freely, and with favourable approximate results. Governor Johnson, of Tennessee, in a speech delivered in Nashville, the capital of the state, last fourth of July, said, among many other

sharp things, "If a negro is stolen, the Union must be broken up, if he is not returned; but if a Southern merchant swindled his Northern creditors out of 100,000 dols. it was all right. Take a case. The president of one of the New York banks, and one of the leading men of the metropolis, owned a large amount of property in the South, among which were 300,000 dols. in North Carolina state bonds. To avoid the confiscation of his property he resigned his position in the bank, and even went to North Carolina to reside. But it was all in vain. The confiscation act swept it all away. Here is a gigantic swindle committed on this Northern man by the Southern rebel chivalry, to the amount of 300,000 dols., the price of at least 420 negroes in good times. Nothing is said about this outrage, but what an uproar we would have heard, had this Northern man taken from one of the chivalry one negro. Why this difference? Why is the negro held so sacred above all property? Why is it that if a bull or a dog become dangerous it can be killed and its owner receive no compensation, but if a slave be hung for murder, every tax-payer in the state is made to put his hand in his pocket and pay the owner for his negro." (Published in the *Nashville Union.*) Persons not practically acquainted with the South can hardly appreciate what a victory these facts indicate in favour of freedom of speech on slave soil, but the masses of men cannot suddenly reverse the wheels of life-time habits of thought and action, and run at once on a new track. Had the border slave states acquiesced in the recommendations of Mr. Lincoln and the United States Congress, and committed themselves to the anti-slavery policy of the government, on the principle of compensation and gradual emancipation, they might have escaped the terrible retribution they are now suffering from guerilla warfare, and invading armies from the South, which their wavering policy has invited.

The question of American slavery is so complicated that human wisdom cannot solve it. "The institution" cannot be removed by *moral* appliances, as in the glorious example of the British government in her West India colonies. Here the friends of freedom had direct access to the *seat of power*, the throne, and parliament, and yet it was the work of years, requiring the utmost exertion of the moral forces of many of the greatest statesmen and gospel ministers in the nation. But had Wilberforce or his co-adjutors gone into the slave states of America, and raised their voices in favor of freedom, they would have been hung most likely. It could not be reached by the United States Congress, because, as I have shown, the question belonged to State legislation. It can only be reached, therefore, by some direct providential interposition, such as a military necessity so palpable as to combine

the great loyal masses in one united purpose to overthrow it. Such a necessity has now been forced upon the nation, and it remains to be seen whether, under the chastening hand of God, she has developed moral power sufficient to unite her millions of freemen on that issue, and bring all her resources to bear directly on that point.

Since writing the above (for the press of my business interrupted my writing at this point) the mails have arrived with Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, "That on the 1st day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be thenceforward and for ever free." He meantime declares, "It is my purpose, upon the next meeting of congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the slave states, so called, the people whereof may not be in rebellion against the United States, and which states may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits." Why this distinction? Because the people of slave states not in rebellion have rights under the constitution that honest Abraham will not ignore, but, as in duty bound by his oath, will as far as possible protect. The states in rebellion have forfeited their constitutional rights, and, under the confiscation act of congress of March 13th, 1862, Mr. Lincoln can and will declare the abolishment of slavery in all such states. Moreover we see that "sixteen governors of the union states assembled on the 24th of September at Altoona, Pennsylvania, adjourned on the 25th to Washington, and presented an address to President Lincoln expressing their determination to support Mr. Lincoln's constitutional authority, the emancipation proclamation, and suggesting the expediency of raising a reserve force of one hundred thousand men." Who is prepared to say that God, in the administration of his providence, is not in this movement, and that as soon as his chastening purpose on the loyal states is accomplished, he may not enable them practically to execute the grand designs of this proclamation? "What, massacre all the whites of the South?" Not at all, but liberate all her slaves, and emancipate her poor whites as well. For if the Lord may but teach the non-slaveholding whites of the South the cause of their degradation, and the horrors of war entailed on them by their masters, and they can see an opportunity of enjoying all the privileges of freemen, of which masses of them have been deprived all their lives, they will yet rally under the "stars and stripes," and leave the real conspirators in so small a minority, and so shorn of their strength, as no longer

to be able to imperil the integrity or disturb the peace of the nation. Thus with millions of loyal blacks and non-slaveholding whites, and possibly thousands of slaveholders who would be led to recognize and acquiesce in the unmistakeable decisions of God's providence, together with an immense immigration of freemen from the North, who have only been kept out of the South by slavery, the nation would find a safer and more loyal basis for free constitutional government all through the South than it has ever had there before.

But many insist on the impossibility of all that. There are difficulties in the way I know, and of such magnitude that God alone can overcome them; but what is the alternative? Why, to gratify the cupidity, pride, and ambition of a few of the most unscrupulous traitors, sacrifice, on the bloody altars of slavery, the thousands of freemen who have fallen or may fall in this war, and then invest these traitors with power to build up a military empire based on "slavery as its chief corner stone," (as declared by their vice-president, Stevens,) to extend itself indefinitely into Mexico and the South American continent, and keep up a quarrel with the Federal Government along an indefinable line of three or four thousand miles extent, and to renew the struggle of war to the death for every real or imaginary encroachment on their "divine institution." There is no rational ground of hope for peace in that direction, for it is not merely a secular or political question, but one involving the peace of nations and the weal or woe of ages to come.

The cheapest and shortest way out of the difficulty is the most direct way through it—the overthrow of its cause, slavery. Let honest Abraham untie the knot if he can, cut it if he must. As the light of Christianity and civilization have gradually increased their effulgence, have not the developments of Providence all been in favor of human freedom. Look at the glorious emancipation policy of England; see the abolition of serfdom in Russia. France, too, is bearing a testimony against slavery; and here while I write the mails come with the fact, "that a law for the abolition of slavery in the Dutch West Indias, in July, 1863, has passed the States General of Holland, by a majority of 45 to 7." Is it at all likely that the wheels of the providential car of human freedom are to be suddenly reversed, and the most gigantic and wicked monopoly of human flesh and bones and liberties, hearts and hopes, should, under the direct claim of Divine sanction, be established on a perpetual basis of fundamental national law, and be acknowledged by all the enlightened anti-slavery nations of the earth?

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH QUERIES IN RELATION TO THE SOUTH ANSWERED.

My dear friends in England propound a great many practical questions in regard to these matters, besides those I have already mooted, a few of which I will here entertain. First in regard to the South. "Are not the slaves generally well cared for by their masters?" They are entirely subject to the will and caprice of their masters, by which is usually included the caprice of mistresses, and all the little masters and mistresses in the family, and in many cases the overseer's family included. The self-interest of the master ought to secure to them as good treatment as he gives his horses and dogs, but their nature being so much more complex, involving relationships and aspirations which necessarily raise perplexing questions and issues so aggravating to a despot's mind, that while many of them fare very well, their treatment upon the whole is greatly inferior to that which horses and dogs receive. "But are not the slaves a contented, happy people?" Humanity can't afford to foster and keep up perpetual gloom and despair. It seeks relief for its conscious woes by various diversions and relaxations. I have often seen prisoners obnoxious to the most dreadful penalties, laughing and talking, playing pranks on each other, and exhibiting the greatest apparent levity and cheerfulness of heart. "But do not the slaves often express their preference for slavery, and their contentment under it?" They do, but look at the circumstances under which they do it. If but one white man in the South could speak against slavery, as I have before stated, and not a paper or pulpit dare declare against it, what kind of sentiment may we expect to elicit from poor slaves on the subject? They are often questioned, to my knowledge, for effect, and they are sharp enough to echo the sentiment of the questioner. For example, at a series of religious meetings in the state of Maryland, about three years since, I heard a pro-slavery preacher, descanting on the blessings of slavery, say to an old slave—"Uncle Joe, how much better you are off, now that you are getting old, to have a good master to provide for you, and take care of you, than you would be if you were free?" (A leading question). "O yes, massa, I doesn't belong to any ob de underground railroads. I is very well contented." Coloured testimony, under the ban of pro-slavery influence is not allowable in court,

but such as that is considered by the uninitiated as quite unanswerable in favor of slavery. That same day I happened to be left alone in the house with "Uncle Joe," and without designing to draw him out at all, I said to him, "Uncle Joe, are you acquainted with Jesus?" "O yes, massa, I knows Jesus." "You find him a good friend of yours, don't you?" "O yes, massa, my best friend. He is de only friend I'se got." "Have you a family?" "Yes, I has a wife." "Is she going to heaven with you?" "Yes, massa, she prays every night and morning, and is trying to serve the Lord." After a little pause, seeing the old man trembling and weeping, I said to him, "Uncle Joe, what's the matter?" He wept sometime before he could command the power of utterance, when he said, "O! when that preacher to-day was talking about his little child that he saved from drowning, I thought my heart would have busted, for it fetched home to my heart my own poor children. I had a wife and eleven daughters, most of my daughters were grown up, and my life was wrapped up in dem." Then he broke down in his narrative, and wept aloud. Recovering self-possession, he proceeded saying, "One day, unbeknowns to me, old massa sold my wife, and all my children to the 'nigger driver,' and he drag dem all away from me, and take dem off to de South, and I never heard tell of dem since. O, my God, I thought it would have killed me, I wanted to die! I could have followed dem to de grave and rejoiced that they were gone home, for I believe they were prepared, but to be taken away to be used and abused by white men, I am afraid I shall never meet dem in heaven. O, it breaks my poor heart to think of it!" The poor old man groaned and wept for nearly half-an-hour, when, hearing some one coming in he dried up his tears, and disguised, as usual, the crushing feelings of his heart.

"But are there not many good men who are slaveholders?" Many good men are drawn into it almost unavoidably. A friend of mine in the district of Columbia could hardly ever resist the prayers and tears of men about to be sold, and taken off South from their families. Such men coming, and upon their knees praying, "O, massa Edes, do please buy me, for God's sake buy me, and save me from the 'nigger driver' who is coming to take me away from my wife and children." Through the sympathy and money of my friend, many such men were saved to their families, and generally got an opportunity to buy themselves and be free. I have often seen, in my early days, long lines of such slaves in the hands of the "nigger driver," bought up, and separated from their families and friends, hand-cuffed, bound together in pairs, and driven in double file, connected by a long chain attached to their hand-cuffs, and running the whole length of the

gang, of usually about fifty in one company. The border slave states were extensively engaged in raising this kind of stock, and this was the mode by which they were conveyed to the markets of the more Southerly cotton states. A dear friend of mine, in my native county, in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, was passing the house of a neighbour and saw in the barnyard, suspended from a beam, what he at first supposed to be a bear that had probably been killed and hung up there, but as he approached it he discovered that it was a coloured woman hung up by her hands. She was nearly naked, had been whipped till she was unable to moan aloud, and had an ear of Indian corn stuck in her mouth as a gag. In that condition she was left hanging till her master should take his breakfast and have family prayers. My friend went in to see him, and remonstrated in vain to have her taken down, till after the family devotions were over. My friend, through sympathy for the poor sufferer, offered to pay a high price for her, just to get her away from her tormentors, but his offer was refused. This *pious* (*?*) family I knew well, and their three children, William, Arthur and Adeline, were taught *authority* between the ages of five and ten years, by being set to whip the said poor woman at will, and she was beaten and scarred up so as to present a most unnatural and hideous appearance. My wife was brought up in the state of Alabama, and is quite familiar with the practical workings of the "institution" there, and has witnessed scenes as horrible as anything represented by Mrs. Stowe. (Though "Uncle Tom's Cabin" gives a faithful picture of the workings of the "institution.") A case occurred in her own immediate neighbourhood of a slave man who tried "to run away," but was overtaken by his master, who ordered the man to walk home, while he rode behind him with a heavy whip. Whether or not he designed to kill the bondman was not known, but he did whip the poor fellow till he sunk in his tracks and died within a few hours. It occasioned a great deal of talk in the neighbourhood, and a great deal of sympathy was expressed, not for the poor murdered man and his family, but for the honourable gentleman who had lost so valuable a man. "A warning to niggers to stay at home and mind their business." My wife inherited a number of slaves, and the very day we got the legal title to them, we manumitted them and gave them the money necessary to give them a start in the world on their own account. We secured their liberty to fifteen of the Lord's ebony sons and daughters, eight years ago when they would have commanded a very high price. I mention this, not egotistically, but to show that my feelings in regard to the "institution" are not the result of recent developments. I was born and bred with a horror of slavery, and I believe

I am one of a large class in the South, "who have not bowed the knee to Baal," and many of them are looking for redemption for the slaves, and for themselves as well. A very intelligent and pious lady in Virginia, whose husband is a slaveholder, wrote me before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, saying, "We are in the midst of great excitement and trouble here, and the abomination which has caused so much desolation is about to come to an end, but it will come as deliverance was brought to the children of Israel."

"But why are the slaves so true to their masters during this war, we hear of no insurrections among them, and they seem to make but little effort to escape?" In all the past, in time of peace, a slave was not allowed to leave the premises of the masters without a written "pass." From eight to twelve o'clock each night every "quarter" in the whole country was searched by a company of young men, each armed with a heavy whip, and every poor slave they could find without a pass was tied up and whipped at the will of the "patrol." I have seen the poor fellows return home bleeding under such cruelties. I was well acquainted with a faithful old slave in Virginia, called "Scipio." His master wanted to liberate him; but as the laws of the state did not allow him that privilege, and permit the liberated slave to remain in the state, he gave old Scipio the privilege, at the age of about sixty years, to take his wife and settle in a cabin in the wild wood to "open up a clearing," and do business for himself. He was virtually free but legally a slave. He lived about twenty miles distant from his master, and could not get a "pass" on every occasion, and as he was well-known he hardly considered it necessary. But he was at one time some miles from home attending a Baptist Association, being a member of that body of Christians, and night overtaking him before he could get home, he fell into the hands of the patrol. They would receive no explanations. "He was out after eight p.m. without a pass," and they whipped him most unmercifully. He showed me his wounds next day. With this state of things in times of peace, what must they be in war? The slaves, kept close at home, without arms, and without organization, and without any one to lead them, why a few armed boys and women can keep them in their places. Moreover under the policy of the government for the first year-and-a-half of the war, refusing in most cases, in the vain hope of conciliating the South, to receive the slaves that came to them, what hope had the slaves but to lie quietly and bide their time? They will not massacre any whites if they can get away without it, but the mass of them will embrace the first opportunity that guarantees to them liberty and protection.

"Do you mean to say that the mass of the church members in the South have apostatized under this pro-slavery development?"

I do not assert that, nor do I believe it. In the cotton states about 45 per cent. of the population are slaves, about 51 per cent. non-slaveholders, leaving but 4 per cent. who own the slaves and most of the real estate, and rule the whole concern. These non-slaveholders have but little more responsibility for slavery than the slaves themselves. As for public sentiment in the South, there is none, but such as will receive the endorsement of the pro-slavery lords. A system so dark requires the exclusion of light. In Virginia, and all South of that, it is against the law to teach a coloured man to read, and although there is no law against the education of the whites, there are no facilities furnished for the education of the masses, not a free-school south of Maryland, and a large proportion of the whites don't know a letter in the book. The overshadowing, blighting influence of the pro-slavery aristocracy does not necessarily bar the masses of whites and slaves from the kingdom of grace or glory, and there are numerous good Christians among both classes, and these are entitled to the sympathy and prayers of good people everywhere. The churches should pray, not that three hundred thousand persons should rule or ruin thirty millions—what they call "gaining their independence," but that God would be gracious to the oppressed millions of the South, both white and black, break down the despotic power of their oppressors, and extend to them and their posterity, free-schools, free speech, freedom of the press, and the privilege of living in peace under the Gospel law of love—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." But whatever may be affirmed in favor of masses of Southern people, the rebellion is wrong all through. Just analize it if you please.

1.—The principle of Secession. What nation can safely endorse such a principle? 2.—The pretended right of revolution. What nation can sanction the right of revolution on such flimsy pretences? 3.—"The chief corner stone of the Confederacy"—slavery. What nation wants to take stock morally in that "institution?" The free states of America, and England also, have a considerable amount invested in it on old account, and we see how it is paying. The North has given notice that all its interest in the concern is in the market, to be closed out entirely at any price. The South has assumed the responsibility of the whole thing, have said by their actions—"Upon us and our children be the responsibility of slavery." Does any nation wish to share it with them? 4.—The South by "drawing the sword," and forcing the war upon the nation without just cause, are responsible at the bar of Providence for all the blood-shedding and suffering at home and abroad caused by the war. If individuals, churches, or nations, wish morally to share in the responsibility of all this, and become

partakers of their sins, they have an opportunity to do so, and plenty of eloquent editors, and lecturers to recommend it as the grandest investment in the market. You need no securities, gentlemen, God will distribute the dividends in due time. "Judgment is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord."

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH QUERIES IN RELATION TO THE NORTH ANSWERED.

Having answered a great many questions in regard to the South, we will now turn attention Northward. I believe, however, I hear more objections stated, than questions asked here these days in regard to the North. Without stopping to take up many of them in detail, allow me respectfully to inquire as to the grounds of complaint, whether they are not incidental, and not fundamental. Even the outrageous seizure of Slidell and Mason, was there not a misapprehension in the minds of many persons as to which side the right was on? The newspaper arguments that followed showed a diversity of opinion, and produced quite an array of evidence on both sides of the question. Is it not fair to presume that the seizure, and the subsequent demonstrations endorsing it, were all based not upon any desire to give offence to England, but upon the presumption that it was lawful; but as soon as the government was convinced of its illegality, prompt acknowledgment and reparation were made. "Brother Jonathan" is not the first man in the world that ever made a mistake, surely his mistake should not be considered a mortal sin, and exclude him for ever from the sympathy and prayers of the church. "But the Northerners exhibit towards England so much bad feeling." Allow me to remark:—1st. That the bad feeling, whether American or English, is caused mainly by a few mischief-making editors on both sides of the water. They seem to have a commission from Beelzebub to distort the truth, circulate falsehood, and stir up international prejudice and strife among their readers. The Lord pity them, I am thinking they will have a tighter squeeze to get into heaven than the slaveholders themselves. 2nd. We have in the states many persons, who while they were subjects of Great Britain seem to have generated, with or without a cause, a great deal of bad feeling, and when they get over among us they take occasion to

let it off. It appears to be very explosive because pent up a long time, but not very dangerous after all, and certainly not justly chargeable to the American government. 3rd. Every few weeks the menacing threat of "English intervention" is passed round by designing parties, and some editor or stump speaker retorts, and such retorts are gravely quoted in some English journal as the sentiment of the nation. We have several double-faced pro-slavery newspaper editors in New York, whose business is to help the South by trying to get up a quarrel between England and the United States. But really, laying aside these annoying incidents, has the *Federal Government* done anything since the war began to furnish real ground of offence to the people of Great Britain? Most of her former acts which were obnoxious to England should be set down, where they belong, to the overbearing spirit of pro-slaveryism. The great masses of the Northern people, to my knowledge, did cherish, and are still anxious to cherish the kindest feelings toward Great Britain. Remember with what ovations they everywhere hailed the Prince of Wales. Where was he insulted? Nowhere but in the South. The jealous spirit of pro-slaveryism could not tolerate such a representative of human rights and freedom on their soil, and now they come here, not to make concessions in favor of freedom, but to ask you to endorse slavery, not as an evil to be endured, but a Divine institution to be embraced by you and cherished and perpetuated for ever. Let Great Britain take the wounded hydra of pro-slaveryism into her bosom, and as soon as it is healed, she will feel the power of its poisonous fangs.

A great deal has been said here against Mr. Lincoln's colonization policy. Mr. Lincoln has not so much to do with abstract theories as with stubborn facts.—1st. An unreasonable and wicked prejudice against the coloured race created and fostered by the far-reaching insinuating influence of pro-slaveryism. 2nd. The prejudice of Irish labourers, and others as well, on the ground of competition in the labour market. 3rd. The fear of many good persons, that if the coloured people by the million are admitted to citizenship and equality with the whites they will become amalgamated with the white races, and cause a gradual deterioration of Anglo-Saxon blood. There is some force in this, and yet I apprehend that the amalgamation upon the whole would not be greater, but much more honourable, than that which has existed and does exist in the South. 4th. The impression is so prevalent that the coloured race is incapable of a high degree of civilization and self-government, that it is very desirable to furnish them a better opportunity, especially for self-government, than they can have in competition with the Anglo-Saxons. In view of all these facts

Mr. Lincoln recommends voluntary colonization, not with the hope of fully meeting the demands of all these prejudiced parties, but of affording great relief to all concerned. Having made material provision for colonization, Mr. Lincoln invited and received a delegation of intelligent coloured free men to look all these facts full in the face, so that if they could see things as he saw them, and approve of his views and plans for meeting the emergency, they could have meetings among themselves and select competent coloured men who would lead off in the opening of a colony in Central America for all coloured persons who desired *voluntarily* to emigrate to it, under United States government aid and protection. When the Lord "came down" to redeem Israel from Egyptian slavery, He isolated them from all their demoralizing associations, took the poor slaves away into the wilderness to educate and prepare them for self-government, yet even there, He required forty years to work the debasing effects of slavery out of them. Indeed He had to kill off most of the old race and raise up a new generation. Mr. Lincoln's plan being purely on the *voluntary principle*, it is not likely to become very general, but many of the most enterprising coloured men are likely to engage in it, and hence such are likely to give a good account of themselves, in connection with Hayti and Liberia, as an independent, self-reliant, self-governing people, and will thus contribute greatly to the elevation of the coloured race among the nations. Why quarrel with "honest Abe" for moving in such a philanthropic work?

"But are the people of the North sincere, as a matter of principle, in their professed anti-slaveryism?" I reply, *look at facts.* All the "religious bodies" of the North, whose organizations extended into the South, have fought a series of ecclesiastical battles on the question, as a matter of principle and conscience, resulting in their separation on that ground alone. The Methodist Episcopal Church was rent nearly by the halves on that ground. If the Northern Conferences could have accepted a slaveholding bishop, and consented to complicity with slavery, they would have avoided an incalculable amount of trouble and expense, and saved to their organization nearly half a million of members who went off South. Numerically and pecuniarily the Northern Conferences sustained an immense loss. They were from the first constitutionally an anti-slavery church, believing with Mr. Wesley, their founder, that "slavery was the sum of all villainies," they could not *conscientiously*, and hence would not, sacrifice their *anti-slavery principles.* All the old Puritanical stock of the North, embodied principally in the Presbyterian and Congregational Independent Churches, have always been, and are now *intensely anti-slavery, on*

principle, not as a matter of secular or political interest, for they had nothing to gain by it in that direction. The same is true of the Quakers everywhere. The Methodist Episcopal Church have nearly one million of members, (with nearly five millions of regular hearers,) and nearly seven thousand travelling ministers of the gospel, and they are all, *constitutionally* as a church organization, and with the exception of a small minority in the border slave states, they are *practically* and *decidedly* an anti-slavery people. They have furnished thousands of men for the war on that principle, and among them about one hundred and thirty of her ministers, principally as chaplains, though some of the most decidedly anti-slavery of them have gone as officers; and yet, in spite of this drain, they have, in firm reliance on God and the justice of their cause, kept in efficient action, thus far through the war, all their church appliances, supported all their ministers, all their home missionaries, from Maine to Oregon, all their foreign missions in India, Bulgaria, Scandinavia, Liberia, Germany, South America, Sandwich Islands, and China. They have not as yet asked for aid abroad, nor withdrawn a missionary from the field. The same I believe to be substantially true of all denominations of Christians in the loyal states, except that some of them I learn have accepted foreign aid in support of their foreign missions. Can enlightened Englishmen see nothing in all this but mere selfishness? I cannot think so. Besides the church organizations, which are the great centres of moral principle, the masses of all the free states are anti-slavery in sentiment, having however in their midst some strongholds of pro-slaveryism, the principal of which is New York city. For it must not be supposed that the majority of the "Democratic party" of the North, which had always been in complicity with the South, were therefore pro-slavery men. Their union with the South was on political party grounds, and slavery was purposely kept out of the question—a thing not to be mentioned, or if mentioned at all, in political discussion, it was under the guise of such a dignified phrase as "Southern institutions," and Northern Democratic concessions in its favor were generally in the form of a "compromise," for the purpose of conciliating the South, and maintaining peace. It is due also to the Democratic party of the North to say, that had they yielded to the exorbitant demands of pro-slaveryism in the Charleston convention, their party would not have been "wrecked," and that they have since stood up nobly in defence of the union. They know as well as any other patriots in the nation the cause of the war, and will lend a willing hand for the destruction of slavery. Large majorities of the anti-slavery masses, however, prefer to abolish slavery, if possible, by moral and constitutional means, and think gradual emancipation, with a

preparation of the slaves to enjoy liberty, better, if practicable, than a sudden disruption of their bonds, to be turned loose on society in all the debasement to which slavery has reduced them. In consonance with these views the war has hitherto been conducted, but with a developing, uniting, cementing, outspoken, anti-slavery sentiment through all the free states, and far into the border slave states, struggling against the armed forces of the South, who are seeking to bind the consciences of freemen for ever, and against numerous traitors in their midst, playing into the hands of their enemies at home and abroad, the great masses of freedom men have, I believe, reached a point of moral unity and intensity which will bind them to the execution of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, and rid the nation of the accursed thing. Now because the anti-slaveryism of the Northern states has not, under all its complicated embarrassments, come up to the ideal of English minds on the subject, will reflecting, God-fearing, freedom-loving English men and women repudiate it altogether, and accept, in its stead, the most outrageous, unblushing pro-slaveryism that ever disgraced the world? And will they fall out with their good friends in the United States because they were *too slow* in their efforts to destroy slavery, and now when they are marching up to it as a direct issue of the war, fall out with them because they are *too fast?* But has the United States Government done nothing for the slaves during the war? "It has received fugitive slaves under its protection and instruction. Several thousand slaves at Fortress Monroe, about twelve thousand at the Sea Islands, many at Newburn and at other points in North Carolina, having come within our lines, are emancipated and under instruction. Many slaves have escaped to the Northern states and to Canada—over sixty thousand from Missouri alone. Governor Letcher estimates the number of slaves already lost to Virginia by the war at eighty thousand seven hundred and twenty eight. It has forbidden the return of fugitive slaves; offered to compensate states that will emancipate; declared universal liberty in the district of Columbia; prohibited slavery for ever in the territories of the United States; conceded to England the right of visitation and search for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade," and has now taken the initiative for universal emancipation by the war power. Are not the loyal anti-slavery masses of the North entitled to the sympathy and prayers of all the lovers of God and humanity everywhere? That there is much sin to be punished, and many wrongs to be corrected in the United States we have freely admitted; but, when the Lord takes it in hand to chastise "Brother Jonathan,"—for "whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth,"—we believe it is for wise and merciful purposes; for who but he can stand

up beside his mother, England, and help her as the great defender of the faith of Jesus, in the great work of evangelizing this fallen world of ours? But because the chastisement requisite to this great purpose is necessarily severe, must the good people of England get into a passion and demand that their own brother Jonathan "be drawn and quartered?" Stand back, gentlemen, if you have no tears to shed, or prayers to offer, leave him to the mercy of his gracious Master—"For he will not always chide, neither will he keep his anger for ever."

Allow me to say in conclusion: If my theory be correct, embodying, by anticipation, the designs of God in permitting the war for the severe chastisement of the American nation and the overthrow of slavery, it will not only account for all the facts of the war thus far, and leave a wide margin; but requires, in fulfilment of these designs of God, all the successes of Southern arms thus far and perhaps farther, and all the reverses of the North in the field, with "the cursings of Shimei" and reproaches heaped on them, to rebuke their hero-worship and drive them to trust in God. Whatever wrongs are in the North, their cause is right; and the dearest interests of humanity, and the future peace of the world, are involved in their success. May we not therefore, in all brotherly confidence, ask the people of England to exercise leniency of judgment towards their American brethren while fighting freedom's battle under complicated difficulties? All Northerners may not be sincere in demanding the abolition of slavery; multitudes certainly are; and should not freedom-loving England sympathise with these and pray for their success? Should not the Union Government get credit for what it undoubtedly has done towards the freedom of the slaves since the war commenced? Does not the purpose of God manifestly point to "emancipation" by this war? Surely He is sincere, and we may sympathise with His designs. But can Great Britain sympathise with the slave-holding, slave-buying, slave-breeding, slave-whipping South, that seeks by gigantic rebellion to consolidate its wicked degradation of 4,000,000 souls redeemed by the blood of the Son of God? It cannot be. Let England know *the real cause of this war* and its all but certain issues, and her heart will beat true to the cause that does battle for order, freedom, and humanity. Be this as it may the purpose of the Highest that will stand. May God defend the right!

APPENDIX.

Professor CAIMES, of Queen's College, in his Dublin lecture on the Revolution in America, says:—

"I hold in my hand a paper of rather curious significance. It is entitled 'The Philosophy of Secession,' and is from the pen of an eminent Southerner, the Hon. L. W. Spratt, of South Carolina, one who has taken a prominent part in the transactions of the last few years. He is the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, one of the most influential, if not the most influential, papers in the South. He represented Charleston in the celebrated South Carolina Convention, which gave first the watchword of secession; and the confidence which was reposed in him by the people of South Carolina was shown in his selection as one of the commissioners appointed by that State to set forth its views before the conventions which subsequently met through the South. The Hon. Mr. Spratt, occupying such a position, may, I think, speak the views of the South with some truth. Let us hear, then, what, according to Mr. Spratt, is the purpose of the South. 'The South,' he says, 'is now in the formation of a Slave Republic. There are many contented to believe that the South, as a geographical section, is in mere assertion of its independence; that it is instinct with no special truth, pregnant of no distinct social nature; that, for some unaccountable reason, the two sections have become opposed to each other; that, for reasons equally insufficient, there is disagreement between the people that direct them; and that, from no overruling necessity, no impossibility of co-existence, but as a mere matter of policy, it has been considered best for the South to strike out for herself, and establish an independence of her own. This, I fear,' says Mr. Spratt, 'is an inadequate conception of the controversy. The contest is not between the North and the South as geographical sections, for between such sections merely there can be no contest, nor between the people of the North and the people of the South, for our relations have been pleasant; and on neutral grounds there is still nothing to estrange us. We eat together, trade together, and practice yet in intercourse, with great respect, the courtesies of common life; but the real contest is between the two forms of society which have become established—the one in the North and the other in the South. Society is essentially different from government—as different as is the nut from the bur, or the nervous body of the shell-fish from the bony structure which surrounds it. And within this government two societies had become developed, as variant in structure, and distinct in form, as any two beings in animated nature. The one is a society composed of one race, and the other of two races. The one is bound together by the two great social relations of husband and wife, and parent and child—the other by the three relations of husband and wife, parent and child, master and slave. The one embodies in its political structure the principle that equality is the right of man—the other that it is the right of equals only; the one, embodying the principle that equality is the right of man, expands upon the horizontal plane of pure Democracy—the other, embodying the prin-

ciple that it is not the right of man, but of equals only, has taken to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. Such are the two forms of society which had come to contest within the structure of the recent Union, and the contest for existence was inevitable. Neither could concur in the requisitions of the other—neither could expand within the forms of a single Government without encroachment on the other. Slavery was within its grasp, and, forced to the option of extinction within the Union, or of independence without, it dares to strike, and it asserts its claim to nationality and its right to recognition among the leading social systems of the world. Such, then, being the nature of the contest, this Union has been disrupted in the effort of slave society to emancipate itself.' The object of the South, then, is to found a Slave Republic. So far for the representative man of the leading secession State of South Carolina—the exponent of the philosophy of secession. I will now ask you to listen to one authority more—it is the Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, the Hon. A. H. Stephens, who thus expounds the views and aims of the Confederation, in a passage which has been often quoted, but with which I must trouble you again :—' The ideas entertained at the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African race was a violation of the laws of nature—that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically. Our new Government is founded on exactly opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man, and that slavery or a subordination to a superior race, is his natural or normal condition. This, our Government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. It is upon this that our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success, and the full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world. The stone which was rejected by the first builders is become the chief stone in the new edifice."—*See Lecture, published in pamphlet by Hodges, Smith & Co.*, 104, *Grafton Street, Dublin.*

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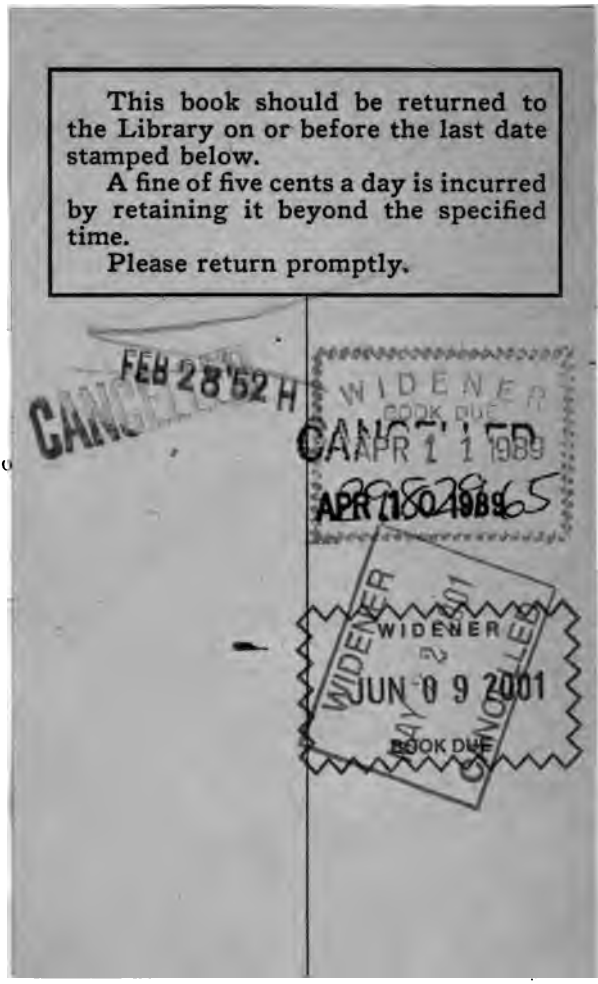
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